1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[65]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

[65] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.